THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1891 · FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY · 1941

ROUND TABLE

A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

"WARMONGERS" and "APPEASERS"

Who are they in America?

LELAND DE VINNEY · CLAY JUDSON · WALTER LAVES

349th BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY · 137

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ROUND TABLE

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No. 137

NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

"WARMONGERS" and "APPEASERS"

Who are they in America?*

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

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* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, October 27, 1940, at 1:30 P.M., Central Standard Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

"WARMONGERS" and "APPEASERS"

Who are they in America?

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MR. DE VINNEY: Secretary of State Hull announced yesterday [October 26, 1940] that the Axis powers are plotting to enslave the world.

MR. LAVES: In view of the fact that the Secretary has so clearly outlined that fact, I am surprised that there are still people in this country whom we might call "appeasers."

MR. JUDSON: I am amazed that there are so many people in America today who seem to be afraid of a peace offensive.

MR. DE VINNEY: Laves, I am told you are a "warmonger." Do you agree?

MR. LAVES: I definitely disagree! I take complete exception to that statement. I have one objective in mind, and that is that we shall have peace again, and, I hope, permanent peace throughout the world.

MR. DE VINNEY: Judson, it is claimed that you are an "appeaser." Do you plead guilty?

MR. JUDSON: I certainly do not! I understand that an "appeaser" is one who bootlicks some other nation, and I am not for that; but I do hate and fear war more than I hate and fear peace.

MR. DE VINNEY: We hear a great deal about "warmongers" and "appeasers" in the United States, yet neither of you gentlemen is willing to plead guilty. Who are the warmongers?

MR. JUDSON: I think the term "warmonger" is used rather loosely, but I believe there may be several classifications. Of course, there is the Hitler type—people who just like war. I don't think we need to bother very much with them today. Then there are foreign nationals in this country who are interested in war because they feel that their own nations have been mistreated in Europe.

MR. DE VINNEY: Then you would say that the Czechs and Poles and Frenchmen and Englishmen in this country who are trying to get us to get into the war because they want us to help their countries win the war are among the warmongers?

MR. JUDSON: I should certainly say so.

MR. LAVES: It seems to me that into this group may be put people, like the President and Mr. Willkie, who want to give aid to Britain, though why they should be called warmongers I have never been able to determine. But there does seem to be a good deal of feeling that anyone who is prepared to do anything to have the cause of Britain defended now is, therefore, *ipso facto* interested in going to war.[1]

MR. JUDSON: I think that these people who want to aid Britain are perfectly conscientious in their views, but I object to their willingness to aid Britain regardless of the risk of war which that carries for the United States.

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[1] *For a complete discussion of the subject of aiding Britain, with special emphasis on the sale of fifty over-age destroyers to the British, see the* ROUND TABLE *program broadcast September 1, 1940: "Should America Aid Britain?" with Clifton M. Utley, S. William Halperin, and Senator Gerald P. Nye.*

MR. LAVES: I am going to have some more to say about that.

MR. DE VINNEY: Let's first raise the question of who are the appeasers in the United States.

MR. LAVES: I think I would like to answer that. It seems to me that the people who are the appeasers are those who, deliberately or unwittingly, are supporting a policy which will result in coming to terms with the fascist countries on fascist terms. Now that may mean the foreign-born groups in this country who would like to have us be friends of Hitler and the Nazis; it may be—and more likely is, I think—a group of so-called well-meaning peace-lovers who have one objective in mind—the preservation of peace—and don't realize that that can be done only on the basis of coming to terms with the fascists.

MR. JUDSON: That may describe an appeaser. As I have just said, I am not one—I don't know that I have to defend that point of view—but I should say that those who feel as I do are those who don't like war. They hate it more than they do peace. They are not willing to bow their knee to any other nation—either Germany or England for that matter—but, on the other hand, they think that there should be no smashing any other nation in the nose in a way that is going to get us into war.

MR. DE VINNEY: I take it, gentlemen, that there is a wide range of opinions among people who are called warmongers and appeasers. We might define the distinction between warmongers and appeasers by the use of a yardstick as an illustration. At one end are the most extreme appeasers who are anxious to have Hitler win this war and to have us follow any policy that will help that particular end. At the other end of the yardstick are groups who are eager to have Hitler erased from the face of the earth and are anxious to have us get into the war for the sake of aiding that cause as directly as possible.

WILL THE U.S. GO INTO THE WAR?

THE TREND OF THE GALLUP POLL

March
1939

August
1939

February
1940

May
1940

June
1940

July
1940

MR. LAVES: In that last group are people who are willing to accept war as an end rather than accept war as a means to an end.

MR. DE VINNEY: That's right! If we look at the actual differences of opinion we find that it ranges all the way along this yardstick and toward the center, at the 18-inch mark, honest differences of opinion are often used as a basis for labeling people with emotional terms.

I suppose that we actually could push everybody into one side or the other of this dilemma on the basis of their stand on the question: When should we fight, or under what circumstances should we fight? Those that feel we should sacrifice peace for the sake of preventing a Nazi victory if necessary may be called warmongers. Those who argue that peace is so important that we should accept Nazi domination of the world if necessary might be called appeasers.

MR. LAVES: But it is worth pointing out there that while you do get these differences between people you will also find that there are some things on which, in general, they are in agreement.

MR. DE VINNEY: Both of you disavow that you are warmongers or appeasers, and yet you do have differences of opinion on these points. I should like to suggest that the mere calling of names in this central arena, at the 18-inch point on our yardstick, clouds rather than clarifies the basic fundamental issues, since the problem, *if* we ought to fight in response to *what*, or whether we *ever* ought to fight raises fundamental and long-range problems that need clarification.

I think we might better forget about whether you are properly called warmongers or appeasers and turn our attention to aspects of policy toward this question. First, we might consider the area in which we agree, and that raises the question of objectives. What are the objectives that you feel we ought to pursue?

MR. JUDSON: I think that four possible objectives might be stated. Two, I think, are not properly objectives, but nevertheless

they are possible aims. The first is to save the British Empire. I don't think that is a proper objective which should carry this country into war. The second is to crush Hitler in Europe. I don't think that is an objective which this country should adopt to the extent of making war to accomplish it. Third, there is the objective of making America safe; and fourth, of preserving democracy—and those are the two objectives to which I subscribe.

MR. LAVES: I think I would subscribe to your last two points. I think I could expand your list even much farther to include other objectives on which I would not be willing to agree. But I would certainly say that we should have as a basic aim the safety of America—though I should like to raise the question: For *whom?* and for *what?* Next, there is the objective of preserving democracy. I would like to begin on that basis.

MR. JUDSON: I would answer your first question by saying "to make America safe for Americans, and for *all* Americans." That seems to me a simple question to answer.

MR. LAVES: I don't think it is really as simple as that, but I don't want to argue that point right now.

MR. DE VINNEY: You are both in agreement on these two objectives: first, to make America the kind of place we want to live in; and that implies the second objective, to maintain our free institutions and democracy. I take it you also agree on certain other points. You share a general sympathy with England and the hope that Hitler may lose this war.

MR. LAVES: I certainly do!

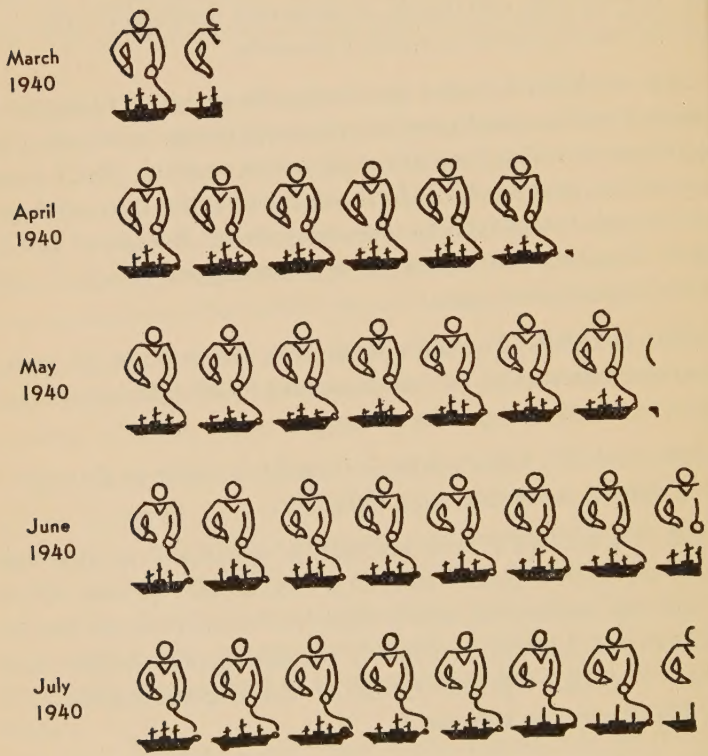
MR. JUDSON: And so do I.

MR. DE VINNEY: Both of you hope for peace. You would like to preserve peace and avoid war if possible.

MR. LAVES: No doubt about it!

SHOULD THE U.S. GIVE MORE AID TO THE ALLIES?

THE TREND OF THE GALLUP POLL



MR. JUDSON: Yes, avoid war if possible.

MR. DE VINNEY: You both regard a defense program as necessary and desirable for this country at the present time.

MR. LAVES: Absolutely!

MR. JUDSON: That's my opinion.

MR. DE VINNEY: It appears to me there is a point of clash, however, between you on the matter of how much aid we should extend to Britain in the current situation.

Judson, as a member of the America First Committee,[2] you agree that it is proper for us to aid Britain to the extent of the "cash-and-carry" neutrality provisions, but that you object to further aid to Britain beyond that lest it lead us into war. Laves, on the other hand, as a member of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies,[3] you are inclined to feel that the only way to keep out of war is to extend further aid to Britain.

MR. LAVES: That is a general division, yes. I think that would probably help clarify the issue, but I think that Judson would like to state what he thinks.

MR. JUDSON: The America First Committee—which I do not officially represent here although I am a member of that Committee—has taken no stand against aid to Great Britain of the character which she obtains when she sends her ships over here and pays cash

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[2] *Organized last month with offices in Chicago. Its chairman is General Robert E. Wood, its secretary, Robert Douglas Stuart. Its policies, as announced in newspaper advertisements published soon after its founding were to "stop our government's sending its planes, guns, and ships to belligerents across the sea," to promote a strong national defense, and to support a "non-interventionist" program to avoid being "dragged into war."*

[3] *A national organization set up last summer under the leadership of William Allen White, editor of the Emporia (Kansas) Gazette, to secure the greatest possible aid to Great Britain. It was an active supporter of the sale of over-age American destroyers to the British and now urges the transfer of some twenty-five "flying fortresses" to England.*

to private industries for war materials. That is covered by our present Neutrality Act.[4]

The reason that the Committee is taking no position against that is because, in the first place, its members are nearly all in sympathy with England, and in the second place they do not believe that that kind of action will lead us to war. But they don't believe that our government can give its own vessels, tanks, and airplanes to Great Britain and avoid war. That is the reason they oppose that kind of aid.

MR. LAVES: Just a second, Judson! Let us look at this a little more closely. I take it you do not object to giving aid to Britain. Am I right in that?

MR. JUDSON: I don't think it is a fair question unless you define what you mean by aid. We do object to giving some kinds of aid to Britain and we don't object to giving other kinds. I thought I just made that plain.

MR. LAVES: All right! You don't object to giving aid to Britain rather than to Germany?

MR. JUDSON: No, I don't object to any rule that is not going to get us into war.

MR. LAVES: All right! I will state my position quite clearly this way: It seems to me that aid to Britain has to be conceived in terms of aid to a country that is involved in a war which is basically our war—a war which involves the security of the United States, and only by giving aid to Britain can we defend ourselves adequately.

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[4] *As amended by the special session of Congress called just after the war broke out in September, 1939. The "cash-and-carry" principle as enacted by the special session, permits belligerents to purchase supplies in this country on a cash basis and prohibits shipment in American vessels.*

MR. JUDSON: If you think that Great Britain is fighting our war and you still think we should keep out of this war, it seems to me your position is absolutely without justification. If you will pardon me for speaking theoretically, I think it is a cowardly position. If it is our war, you ought to think that we should go into this war today.

MR. LAVES: Not at all! That is entirely overlooking questions of strategy and policy. I feel quite strongly that the United States should not declare war at the present time. I think we should give aid to Britain.

MR. JUDSON: And hope that we could sit here and help her win *our* war!

MR. LAVES: That is just because you are completely overlooking what are the important factors in this whole international situation. You are quite willing, for instance, to give Great Britain a little bit of aid, but you are not willing to give her the amount of aid that will make any difference.

MR. DE VINNEY: The difference of opinion seems to be quite sharp here. When you were called a warmonger, Laves, you denied that you were because you wanted to preserve peace.

MR. LAVES: That's right!

MR. DE VINNEY: When you were called an appeaser, Judson, you denied that you were because you had no objection to England winning this war; in fact, you hoped she would win. Now there is a sharp difference of opinion as to whether we can best serve the interest of keeping this country out of war by giving aid to England or by refraining from giving aid to England.

MR. LAVES: That's right!

MR. JUDSON: That is correct, and I think it is perfectly naïve to suppose that we can keep out of this war if our government con-

IF GERMANY WINS: WILL SHE START WAR AGAINST THE U.S. IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS?

THE TREND OF THE GALLUP POLL

tinues to send more and more of its battleships, planes, tanks, and eventually men—and that will mean war—to England.

MR. LAVES: I would like to say that I think it is equally naïve to try to formulate a policy on the basis of the assumption that you are aiding Britain but allowing them only the amount of aid that is permissible under the neutrality law, which is a subterfuge for avoiding international responsibility.

MR. JUDSON: If Germany was physically in a position to do so she could get the same amount of materials from us that England can. It is only because she can't that she doesn't do it. As a law, on its surface and in form, it is neutral.

MR. LAVES: That is exactly my point: that you are standing for a position which actually makes no distinction between the cause which Germany is fighting and the cause which Britain is fighting. By your own admission now, you would be willing to let Germany come over here and get materials if she could. I would draw the line flatly and I definitely prefer to see Britain win.

MR. JUDSON: I would definitely prefer to see Britain win, but I would be unwilling to make any distinction between the two which would bring this country into war.

MR. LAVES: You would like Britain to win without taking responsibility in the picture.

MR. JUDSON: I would like to see Britain win without our getting into this war.

MR. DE VINNEY: You feel that if we aid Britain very much we are sure to get into war. Laves, you feel that we can aid Britain a good deal and increase our likelihood of staying out of war. I think that this raises immediately another important problem about which you seem to differ. That is, if Germany wins this war, can we remain at peace indefinitely?

MR. LAVES: Ah, that is a nice question! I wish I could look that far into the future. I would answer that on the basis of the record of the present government of Germany. The record of that government is clear as to its intention. It intends to do away with what they call the "pluto-democracies," which, by their definition, includes the United States; to establish a world economic, political and military empire, and thus gradually to dominate the world as a whole.[5]

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[5] *For a discussion of one aspect of this topic see the* ROUND TABLE *broadcasts September 15—"Can Germany Conquer Latin America?" and October 6—"Will Hitler Attack America Next?"*

The attack—and I want this clearly understood—is not likely to be a military attack upon the United States; it will be an ideological, economic and social attack.

MR. DE VINNEY: Your position is, Laves, that if Germany wins this war we are sure to get into war; therefore, we increase the likelihood of staying out if we help England and prevent Germany from winning this war?

MR. LAVES: Not quite. I don't want to go that far. It is quite conceivable that we will go along for a number of years without getting into actual war with Germany. We will then immediately become involved in the war ourselves; not a war in a military sense of sending planes against them, ships against them, and men against them, but we will continually be at war with them in terms of trade, in terms of politics, in terms of ideologies.

MR. JUDSON: You have admitted a lot of things which a great many of the people on your committee would not admit.

MR. LAVES: I am not speaking for a committee.

MR. JUDSON: I know you are not, but you are a member of the committee and there are a lot of people in this country who have been spreading the propaganda that we would face a military attack by Germany if Germany wins this war. I would like to answer that assertion because I think it is important and does influence the thinking of a great many people in this country.

I think it is preposterous and fantastic, if this country is well prepared, and you and I are in favor of such preparation. In the second place, I would like to say that the picture of peace after a possible Nazi victory in Europe is painted in language which seeks to make

HICAGO ROUND TABLE DISCUSSES: SHALL WE FEED EUROP

IDER THE UMBRELLA on the bright tennis courts of the Faculty Club, Sonia Tom-
a, foreign correspondent, met her fellow broadcasters and the Round Table staff
the first time on Friday afternoon before the show. Miss Tomara was a rare
man guest. Women's voices don't often "mike" well; hers did. After their intro-
ctory chat, they all went in to dinner in the dining room of the Faculty Club.

LOOK gives you a front row seat at radio's version of the cracker barrel conference, the University of Chicago's Round Table

THE CRACKER BARREL, with its complement of neighborhood philosophers beside the hot stove at the crossroads store, is no more. But the American tradition of free exchange of opinion which it exemplified still flourishes in the modern medium of the radio.

Each week some 10 million people listen to the three leading discussion programs, "America's Town Meeting of the Air," "The People's Platform" and the "University of Chicago Round Table." Of these the Round Table is the oldest, has the largest audience—just under five million.

The original round table which gave the University authorities the inspiration for radio's first big time educational radio show still stands in the leaded glass dining room of the Faculty Club. Here for many years professors have sat long over lunch settling the problems of the world. From this came the idea for the program: Why not tackle these problems where the world could benefit—over the radio?

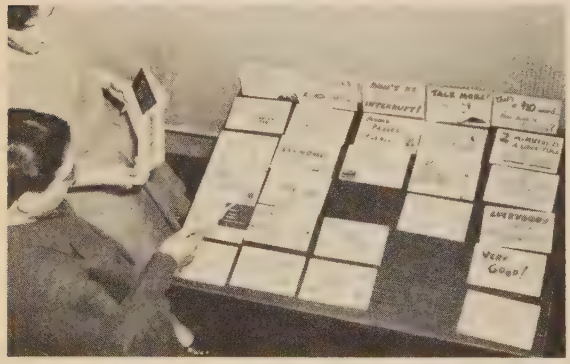
Nine years ago, the Round Table program began humbly, with guests huddled around a card table in a makeshift studio hung with sound deadening drapes. The Round Table itself is a triangle table now, with sponge rubber elbow rests and signal lights. A yearly grant of $45,000 from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation maintains the program, but exercises no control over it. Out-of-town guests are paid $75 and expenses; local guests $50 and expenses.

Every Sunday over 88 stations of the NBC red network, Round Table experts examine topics of the day. From time to time hereafter LOOK will co-operate with the Round Table in presenting its subjects in picture-treatment. Here you see how the Round Table argued: "Shall We Feed Europe?"

Y WERE NOT ON THE AIR when this picture was taken early Sunday morning
he studio in Mitchell Tower on the campus. But conflict was already hot.
iology Professor Louis Wirth (left) contended that to feed a starving Europe
ld be to help Hitler. Miss Tomara and Neil Jacoby, professor of economics,
greed. The raised finger is a sign that both men want the privilege of the mike.

IN THE CONTROL ROOM of the studio, the informal "run through" pictured
left is being "waxed" (put on a record which will be played back to them
minute so faults can be checked before the broadcast). Chief fault Director
man Dryer (center) found was "jamming," several talking at once. Miss
ara's voice sounded uncannily like Garbo's. Wirth's excitability was a pro

TURKEY SANDWICHES and milk, served between "run through" and broadcast to relax tension, are Round Table ritual. Still disagreed on feeding starving Europeans, they agreed on feeding starving Round Tablers. Papers in front of Wirth (center) are not script, since the program is "ad lib," but an outline. Dryer cautions speakers to follow the outline, keep the argument coherent.

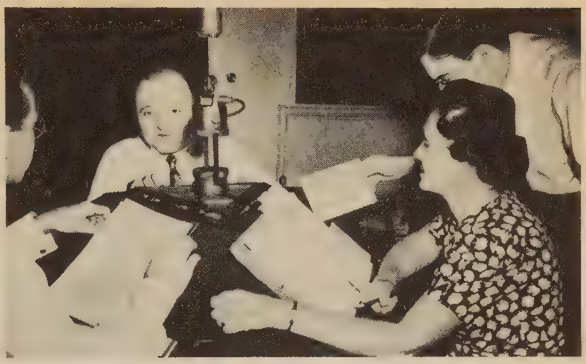


JUST BEFORE AIR TIME, Dryer and Barbara Monser, studio secretary, lay out the cards Dryer will use to signal the guests while they're on the air. He can't whisper. Papers rustle. So he worked out this set of information cards which cover most contingencies. They are whimsical, decorated with drawings, so guests won't bristle. Sample card: "That's a $10 word. How does it affect me?"

ONE MINUTE TILL AIR TIME! Youthful Director Dryer will drop his hand as a signal that the mike is open. The Round Table is primarily a discussion program, not a debate. But Dryer sees that it competes in entertainment value with the best commercial programs. Until the program begins, an announcer reads news flashes to maintain the timely spirit.

THE BROADCAST OPENED with a
starvation or a threat of starva
notes, Professor Wirth said: "Y
the thing at first hand, and no
have to examine the situation

AS THEY GOT EXCITED the need
dials in the control room began
just told Jacoby: "The blockad
important weapon." Miss Tomar
as she visualized the black desp



f whether there was going to be hile Miss Tomara consulted her s a newspaperwoman have seen d at your heartstrings. But we t of what the facts really are."

WIRTH AND JACOBY were soon going it so hot and heavy, after Wirth had read a telegram from Secretary of Agriculture Wickard on the food situation in Europe, that Director Dryer had to flash Miss Tomara a card saying, "Don't be polite—Interrupt!" The Secretary had maintained that while there would be distress in certain areas, a serious situation for the whole continent was not indicated.

evel had ost ion ally broke in: "We do not seem to realize what Europe is going to be like a year from now. It is going to be a 'howling hell' as Mr. Cudahy described it. It is going to be diseased by plague, perhaps of an intensity that humanity has not seen for hundreds of years. The children are going to suffer most." Wirth retorted: "I agree but I am not in the habit of eating babies for breakfast myself; my feeling is that the suffering has been brought about by causes these people can't control." "Good reason for feeding them," snapped Jacoby.

MISS TOMARA has just asked: "Couldn't the plan be limited to feeding hungry children and mothers?" Wirth has raised his finger. He wants to interrupt. But Miss Tomara went on: "If there are American officers who would supervise feeding these children, do you imagine the Germans would take the food out of their mouths?" Wirth retorted: "I don't think the Germans are going to restore the food they have taken. I think Mr. Hoover's proposals are impossible." After the broadcast phone calls, telegrams, letters poured in—heavily against our feeding Europe. **END**

JACOBY AND WIRTH were at it again so that Dryer had to flash Miss Tomara a card reading: "Be a man, not a mouse." Jacoby had just cited experience in the last war as proving it was possible to feed Belgians and French in occupied territory without feeding Germans. Wirth replied: "I'm not against humanitarian efforts—but this war involves a total war by Hitler's own proclamation." "But not a war against Belgians and Dutch." "But a war against British women and children," Wirth asserted. "Wait a minute," said Miss Tomara. "Let's come down to earth again."

peace worse than war. You don't advert to what war would be. I say that the worst of all alternatives, however bad a Nazi peace might be in the rest of the world—not a Nazi peace in the United States, because, as I have said, I don't think they can come to the United States—in my opinion, it would not be half as ruinous to this country as our participation in a long and ruinous war in Europe to crush totalitarianism.[6]

MR. LAVES: That sounds very well, Judson. I am not attempting to describe the conditions of peace that are likely to prevail.

MR. JUDSON: I think you did.

MR. LAVES: Just a minute! I am reading the record of what they have been doing in one country after another, and I am adding to it what are their own stated objectives. I am not making up a thing.

MR. JUDSON: No, but you are guessing at what may happen in the future. You are guessing because you don't know what the position of Germany will be, what her conditions will be, or how exhausted she will be after this war is over.

MR. LAVES: That's what Chamberlain said.

MR. JUDSON: You are assuming many things, and when you are comparing our situation to England—as you are doing by implication now—I say it is very different: that England is twenty miles across the Channel; that she is inevitably tied to the European system, and that we are not unless we force ourselves to be by intervention.

MR. DE VINNEY: We have an issue between us. You, Judson, feel that if we extend much aid to England we are almost cer-

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[6] *For the possible effect of a Nazi victory on the United States, see the* ROUND TABLE *"If Germany Wins," broadcast June 2, 1940.*

tain to get into war, whereas if we refrain from aiding England we are fairly sure to maintain the peace irrespective of how the war comes out. You, Laves, appear to feel that we can extend a good deal of aid to England without likelihood of getting into the war, whereas if we do not aid England and Germany wins, we are almost sure sooner or later to be involved in war.

This seems to boil down to the question, How much should we risk to aid England in the hope that that will keep us out of war, or how much should we risk to let Germany win the war, assuming that we can maintain the peace if she does win the war?

MR. JUDSON: I feel that we risk infinitely more by taking steps that seem to me will inevitably get us into this war. We risk much more by taking those steps than we do by making this country strong and making every effort to keep out of war perpetually, because I believe we may never have to fight a war if we are strong enough. Furthermore, I distrust the people who have been urging us to give aid to Great Britain short of war.

The chief instrumentality of that propaganda has been the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. They held a big meeting in Chicago a little while ago and it was given tremendous publicity. Their two main speakers were Dorothy Thompson and Admiral Standley.[7] Now both of those people have come out in favor of this country being in the war now. Therefore, I don't trust them when they say that they want to aid Britain in order to keep out of war.

MR. LAVES: Just a second, Judson! I agree that there are a lot of people in any organization who have differences of opinion with other members of the organization. I happen to subscribe to the ideas of the William Allen White Committee to Defend the United States by aiding Britain, but I want you to know that there

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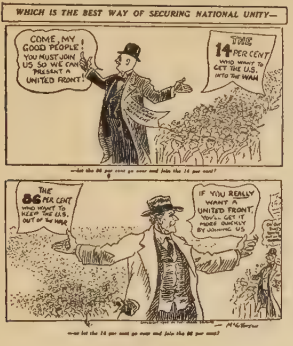
[7] *For the views of Admiral Standley, see the list of suggested readings on page 25.*

CARTOONISTS ON DEFENSE AND WAR



CHICAGO TRIBUNE

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

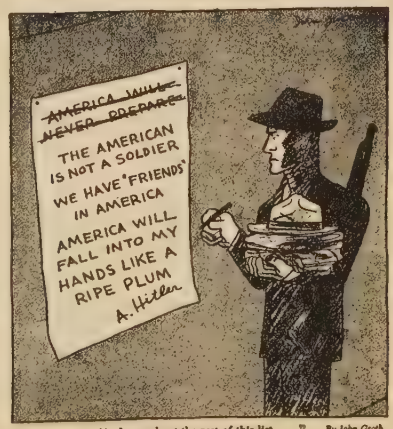
CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

Sour Grapes

CHICAGO HERALD-AMERICAN

For services rendered

CHICAGO TIMES



'And now about the rest of this list. . . .'" *By John Groth*

NEW YORK PM

are people who are supporting that organization who go to far greater extremes than I would ever go. And, incidentally, there are some people you haven't mentioned who are back of us whom I would like to forget, just as I hope there are some people who are supporting the America First Committee whom you would prefer not to mention.

But may I remind you of just this one thing: that the policy that I am talking about—the so-called defense, which is today in the hands of the Secretary of State—is the policy put forth by the President of the United States and is a policy put forth by Mr. Willkie. It is a policy which has the complete support of the American people, if we may judge by the Gallup polls.[8]

MR. JUDSON: I don't agree with that. I think the people are confused because the Gallup polls show that there are eighty-five per cent of the American people who do not want war even if Great Britain is going to be defeated.

MR. LAVES: What?

MR. JUDSON: That is what the Gallup poll shows, and it also shows that there are fifty-two per cent who are willing to give aid to Britain and take the risks of war. I think those two things are in conflict.

But you have mentioned the present administration and its stand. It is true that both Mr. Willkie and Mr. Roosevelt have made statements of which I don't approve. There is a difference between them, because heretofore Mr. Willkie has been a private citizen and not the head of a state, in charge of our diplomatic arrangements

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[8] *For a pictograph compilation of Gallup poll reports on American attitudes toward the war, see pp. 5, 8, 12, 20, 22, and 23. Gallup surveys in October indicate that seventeen per cent of America would vote now to go into the war against Germany if such a decision were submitted to them and that ninety per cent favored the government's forbidding of the sale of arms, airplanes, gasoline and other war materials to Japan.*

with other countries. There is also this difference: they have both promised to keep this country out of a foreign war.

I think you must measure the probability that those promises will be kept, at least by the President, against two things. One is by how he has kept his promises in past campaigns.

MR. LAVES: It has been a very good record.

MR. JUDSON: I don't agree with you. Second, by the things that he has done and the things that he has said in connection with foreign affairs during the last year or two. On neither count can I have any confidence that he will keep us out of war. I do believe that Mr. Willkie would.

MR. DE VINNEY: It seems clear, Judson, that you like Mr. Willkie a great deal, but you seem to be forgetting that Mr. Willkie himself, in a very belligerent fashion, announced that he was ready to win any race that Hitler wanted to start.[9]

MR. JUDSON: He said that, and he wasn't President of the United States when he said it. But if his statement that he will keep us out of a foreign war comes into conflict with continuing aid to Great Britain, I have a feeling that Mr. Willkie will keep us out of war.

MR. LAVES: Just a second! It seems to me that one thing you are completely overlooking is that we are talking about a world in which a war is already under way. You seem to think that maybe some day there is going to be war and that we are laying out a rather fantastic, theoretical, policy. The war is on. It has been on now for a great many years. The attack upon us has begun on the ideological, economic, and military front.

You are completely overlooking the fact that the President of the United States, in formulating a foreign policy, has to formulate it in terms of the total international situation. When you say you are

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[9] *In his acceptance speech at Elwood, Indiana, last summer.*

SHOULD THE U.S. DECLARE WAR UPON GERMANY?

THE TREND OF THE GALLUP POLL

prepared to defend the United States you must recognize that the defense needs of this country are determined not merely by the possibility of attack, let's say, upon New York, but in terms of the number of countries that are friendly to us, in terms of the amount of time we have to defend ourselves, and in terms of the science of our military forces, if you take the total components of the defense situation.

It does seem to me that we have to recognize that we must simultaneously build up our defenses at home and give immediate aid to Britain.

MR. DE VINNEY: This suggests the next major area of disagreement. Clearly you gentlemen can not agree as to whether we risk getting into war more by helping Britain or by refraining from helping Britain. Another objective, that you agreed upon, was the maintenance of our free institutions and of democracy in this country. You also apparently disagree as to whether we risk getting a dictatorship in this country more by risking getting into war to defeat Hitler, with England's help, or by staying out of the war with the possibility of the world being brought under the sway of the Nazis, and our being able to preserve our free institutions in this hemisphere irrespective of what happens in Europe.

MR. JUDSON: My answer is that you can not crush dictatorship by war. Dictatorship is the spawn of war, and the only way that we can defeat dictatorships of all kinds is by keeping out of war and having a country growing in peace and prosperity. That is the reason I am against getting into this war in an effort to crush it in a military fashion.

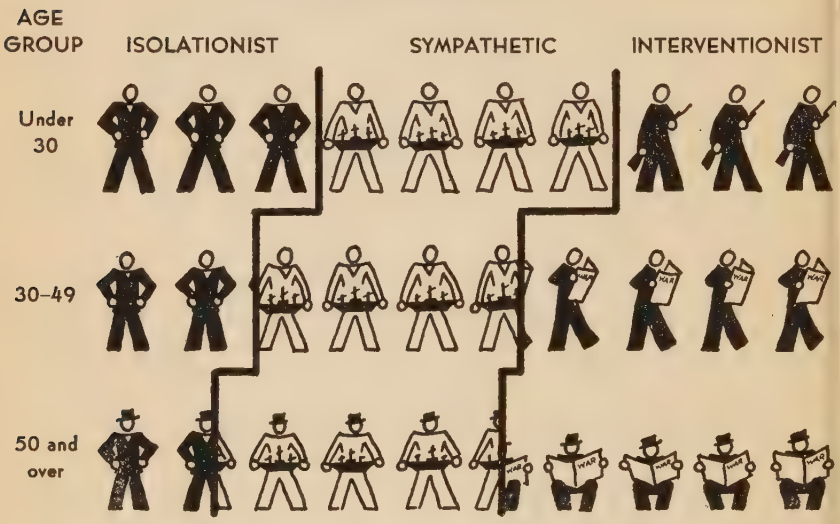
MR. LAVES: I know, but you do have to recognize the fact that at the present time there is a war going on between one dictatorship and the rest of the world. It does not seem to me that the causes of the rise of the dictatorship are relevant now. The fact of the matter is that this dictatorship that we are talking about—Germany primarily, or rather the Nazis in Germany—are conducting a campaign directly against our interests. It is going on in Latin America now; it is going on within the United States now. I am not rolling the drums; I am simply talking on the basis of the record.

MR. JUDSON: If it is going on in the United States now it is not obvious to me, and I live here as you do. It is not so pointed that I feel we must now get into the war in order to avoid the danger that the growth of Naziism in this country today involves.

MR. LAVES: I have not said a word in this entire discussion about getting into war. I do not want to get into war, but I also do

ISOLATIONISTS AND INTERVENTIONISTS

GALLUP MEASURES OPINION OF THE UPPER INCOME GROUP



DATA FROM "THE PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY," SEPTEMBER, 1940

not want the United States to adopt a policy which will result in our being isolated so that when the danger of attack comes—whether military, economic or ideological—we will not be able to resist it. To divide and conquer has been the policy of the Nazis since they came into power. That is why they arranged the treaty with Tokyo: to try to keep us from giving aid to Britain, and a great many of people in this country have fallen for it.[10]

MR. JUDSON: You don't want to get into war, but everything you want to do tends toward getting us into war, in my opinion. And so far as isolation is concerned, I am not an isolationist except

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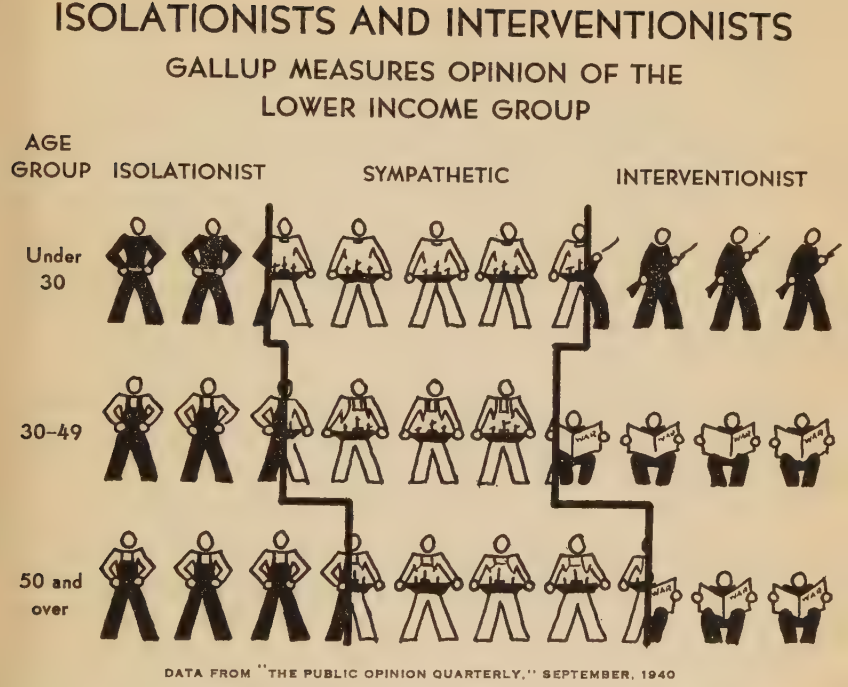
[10] *For a discussion of the three power treaty see the* ROUND TABLE—*"Crisis in the East"—broadcast September 29.*



in that I would be glad to be isolated from disease and war. That is all I want to be isolated from.

MR. DE VINNEY: It strikes me, gentlemen, that it is not at all impossible that one can avoid dictatorship best by trying to create the kind of world situation in which peaceful international organization is possible, and, therefore, in which militarization at home may be less necessary than at the moment we all seem to have agreed that it is.

MR. LAVES: That is absolutely right, and it seems to me again the record is perfectly clear, on the basis of what the Nazis themselves have said, that they have no use for international cooperation. They are interested in domination. They are not interested in

international trade; they are interested in international *control* of trade.

MR. JUDSON: We are going to show them that might does not make right, I presume, by going over there and adding our might to that of the mightiest empire in the world and thus, by crushing Germany, presumably convince her that might does not make right. It won't convince me.

MR. LAVES: I don't know whether it is any better to talk about "might makes right" than to talk about "peace at any price," but it seems to me we are living in a very realistic world and we have to form a policy in terms of realities.

MR. DE VINNEY: Whether we are called warmongers or appeasers, it seems clear that we are agreed that we love America and want to preserve democratic institutions and our interests as best we may. There is sharp difference of opinion as to whether that may best be done by assisting Britain to crush Hitler, in the hope that this will not involve us in war, or whether, if we do assist Britain, it will surely get us into war. Then there is a further difference of opinion upon whether getting into the war, if that is necessary to crush Hitler, may not still preserve democratic institutions in this country better than allowing Hitler to win the war and maintain the kind of a world in which military organization over long periods of time is inescapable.

It seems quite appropriate that the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE should bring experts who disagree seriously to discuss these far-reaching and fundamental questions, to state and clarify these issues and, as is necessary in a true democracy, to leave the public to draw the conclusions.

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BEARD, CHARLES A., *A Foreign Policy for America.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940. *One of America's most distinguished historians presents his interpretation of "continental Americanism" as a technique of foreign policy.*

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LINDBERGH, COLONEL CHARLES A., "Our Drift Toward War," *Vital Speeches*, July 1, 1940. *An appeal for non-intervention.*

MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD, "The Irresponsibles," *Nation*, May 18, 1940. *A plea for the militant spirit and a condemnation of America's intellectuals for their pacifism during post-war years.*

PAGE, KIRBY, *How to Keep America Out of War.* Washington: the National Council for the Prevention of War, and others. 1939. *The case for non-intervention.*

STANDLEY, ADMIRAL WILLIAM H., "A State of War Exists," *Vital Speeches*, September 1, 1940. *A leader of the pro-war movement defines his stand on America's foreign policy.*

WHITRIDGE, ARNOLD, "Where Do You Stand?" *Atlantic*, August, 1940. *An open letter to American undergraduates on the present international situation, written from a strong anti-isolationist point-of-view.*

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions, suggested by the text of the discussion, may aid in clarifying and distinguishing the issues considered, and are designed for the use of teachers and discussion leaders.

*

1. Define the terms "warmonger" and "appeaser" as you understand them. Compare your definitions with those suggested by the speakers.
2. Discuss the use of these terms by propagandists to discredit opposition viewpoints. Can you recall instances of this practice from your own experience?
3. Argue for or against the contention that immediate aid to Britain will help to defeat Germany without risking American involvement in the war. Evaluate the argument that Great Britain is fighting our war, used as reason for aiding Britain.
4. Can you identify individuals and groups for which the terms warmonger and appeaser are accurately descriptive? What special interests lie behind their positions?
5. Argue for or against extending more substantial aid to Great Britain. Do you believe this aid should be extended:
   a) only within the limits of the Neutrality Act and historical precedent?
   b) only if Great Britain is invaded by landing troops?
   c) if, after a period of months, a stalemate seems inevitable?
   d) if Great Britain takes the offensive and is about to defeat Germany?
6. If you favor further aid to Great Britain, which of the following actions meet with your approval:
   a) Give all necessary non-military supplies to Britain.
   b) Revise existing legislation to permit Great Britain, a debt defaulter, to float loans in this country.
   c) Grant credits to Great Britain through government agencies.
   d) Give both military and non-military supplies to Britain.

e) Permit American ships to transport supplies to Great Britain, convoyed by British or American naval vessels.

f) Sell or trade additional naval vessels, airplanes, and armaments, now a part of America's defense structure.

g) Declare America to be a non-belligerent ally of Great Britain.

h) Declare war upon Germany.

7. If you do not favor further aid to Great Britain, which of the following actions meet with your approval:

   a) Stop shipments of airplanes, and all instruments of war, to speed American preparedness.

   b) Stop shipments of high-test gasoline to Great Britain by way of Canada.

   c) Continue support now being given but avoid any further commitments which could be interpreted as acts of war by any of the fascist powers.

   d) Observe strict neutrality, offering no favoritism to any nation now at war with any other nation.

8. Evaluate the argument that if Hitler wins he will attack America. Which of the following methods of attack would be possible: *a*) military; *b*) economic; *c*) social and ideological.

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95. *Wages and Hours in the North and South*
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100. *Is Russia Losing in Finland?*
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103. *Economic Issue and 1940*
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105. *Must the World Unite?*
106. *Can We Protect America?*
107. *The Census*
108. *The Archbishops Look at America*
109. *Scandinavia on the Spot*
110. *Third Term?*
111. *Where's that War Boom?*
112. *The Trojan Horse*
113. *Blitzkrieg, May, 1940*
114. *America and the Peacemongers*
115. *Babies Cost Money*
116. *If Germany Wins*
117. *Have We Time to Think?*
118. *Italy Marches*
119. *America's Capacity to Arm*
120. *Economic Union for the Americas*
121. *Civil Liberties and the Fifth Column*
122. *M-Day and America*
123. *Heading for the White House*
124. *Should America Conscript Men Now?*
125. *The New France*
126. *What Really Happened at Havana?*
127. *Willkie Accepts*
128. *Blitzkrieg on Britain.*
129. *Should America Aid Britain?*
130. *Should America Feed Europe?*
131. *Can Germany Conquer Latin America?*
132. *Conscript Wealth, Too?*
133. *Crisis in the East*
134. *Will Hitler Attack America Next?*
135. *YOU, Soldier*
136. *The Balkans Aflame.* October 20

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Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1310	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	780
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1370	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	740	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
Baltimore, Md.	WFBR	1270	New York, N.Y	WEAF	660
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1230	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	780
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	900	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1210	Pittsburgh, Pa.	WCAE	1220
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1210	Portland, Me.	WCSH	940
Cincinnati, Ohio	WSAI	1330	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	890
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1070	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1350
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1210	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1150
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	920	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1310
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1200	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	790
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1270	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	620
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1300	Toledo, O.	WSPD	1340
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	900	Washington, D.C.	WRC	950
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1370	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	1310
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1310	Worcester, Mass.	WTAG	580
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1210	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1210

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME

Amarillo, Texas	KGNC	1410	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	940
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	930	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1280
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620
Bristol, Tenn.	WOPI	1500	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1460
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1320
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	800	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	900
Des Moines, Ia.	WHO	1000	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1290	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	790
El Paso, Texas	KTSM	1310	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1310
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	630	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1420
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	940	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1370	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1450
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1400	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1230
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1270	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1310
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1140
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1370	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1210
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	890			

12:30 P.M. MOUNTAIN STANDARD TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1180	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	780	Reno, Nev.	KOH	1380
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1350	Safford, Ariz.	KGLV	1420
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1420	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1290
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1340	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1260
Denver, Colo.	KOA	590	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1240
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1210			

11:30 A.M. PACIFIC STANDARD TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1370	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	920
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1410	Stockton, Cal.	KWG	1200
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

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NOVEMBER 3, 1940

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GEORGE GALLUP

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

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In charge of Research, *Fortune Survey*

[THIRD SPEAKER TO BE ANNOUNCED]

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"The Public Opinion Polls: Dr. Jekyll or Mr. Hyde?" A collection of sixteen articles on polls, *Public Opinion Quarterly,* June, 1940.

GALLUP, GEORGE; POLLOCK, JAMES K.; and WIRTH, LOUIS, "Testing Public Opinion," a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE broadcast, November 5, 1939.

"Polls as Election Barometers," *United States News,* October 25, 1940.

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